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GOP PROSPERITY SPRINGS A LEAK

Sag in output hits auto centers hard; Reuther in warning

By Lawrence Emery

BOOMING REPUBLICAN PROSPERITY—which the GOP thinks will win an election for it— had a huge hole in it last week. Production of automobiles and farm equipment was sagging so badly that Detroit, Flint and several other auto producing centers were classified as areas of "substantial labor surplus." The classification theoretically makes available to such areas federal aid in the way of defense contracts and tax concessions, but no one expected this to make any dent in the mounting joblessness.

At the end of May the Michigan Employment Security Commission put unemployment in the state at 220,000, mostly auto workers, with 128,000 out of work in Detroit alone. It estimated that unemployment in the state would average 200,000 for the remainder of the year.

REUTHER'S CALL: United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther called the situation "alarming" and suggested that industry leaders meet with union representatives to seek solutions. Farm equipment manufacturers rejected the invitation; the auto industry didn't even reply. Said Reuther:

"The plight of thousands of workers on layoff cannot be swept under a rug woven of platitudes or silence. The industry has a moral obligation to act promptly on that appeal to alleviate current suffering and prevent further hardship to workers, their families, and to whole communities. The responsibility of leadership in the automobile industry cannot be confined to technical and productive know-how; it must also be related to the human and social needs of the workers."

Herblock in Washington Post
"Oh, joyous day"

The Auto Workers scheduled a meeting in Detroit for June 8 to which it invited mayors and other officials of some 50 communities to discuss ways to "lessen despair and hardship." Five states, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky and Wisconsin, were to be represented.

SEASONAL OR NOT? Several UAW locals have already recommended a moratorium on debts to halt garnishments, evictions and repossessions. They also suggest creation of new jobs by expanded public works on a local, state and national level.

Although at least one government spokesman has declared the present slump to be seasonal, the fact is that the auto industry usually takes a sharp upswing at this time of year. Last February GM president Harlow Curtice boasted that 1956 would be a record production year. But in mid-May there were some 900,000 unsold new cars on the market and the number was still growing despite severe cut-backs. Reuther blamed the situation on "reckless, irresponsible scheduling of production" and last year's "insane competitive struggle." He said "high-pressure selling foolishly inflated 1955 sales, but in doing so, chopped off a large share of the normal 1956 market."

THE GUARANTEED WAGE: The sudden growth of unemployment in the auto industry coincided with the first effective date of the so-called Guaranteed Annual Wage plan, but it was estimated that less than 10 percent of jobless auto workers would draw anything from funds set up to supplement unemployment compensation benefits. The **AFL-CIO News** reported in its May 26 issue: "It was clear that only a small proportion of the . . . auto workers reported laid off by the Labor Dept. as of May 12 would receive benefits."

Only those workers laid off on or after May 2 would be eligible to draw supplementary benefits. It was generally estimated that those eligible would not get more than $10 a week for more than four weeks. Most would get less for a shorter time. Auto workers in Indiana and Ohio would get nothing because those states have ruled that any supplementary pay would be deducted from state jobless payments. Employes of Studebaker-Packard won't become eligible for payments until September, while the American Motors Corp. won't start making payments until mid-September, 1957.

POLITICAL HAY IS MADE: Reuther has now announced that the next major goal of the UAW will be a shorter work week with 40 hours pay. But the UAW's major contracts do not expire until 1958 and it is unlikely that the corporations will willingly reopen them before that time for such a basic demand.

Democrats, and most labor leaders, were making as much political hay out of the unemployment situation as they could. Sen. Pat McNamara (D-Mich.) told a jobless rally in Detroit:

"This Republican prosperity reminds me of a movie set. All the buildings are beautiful, but when you get around behind them, you find they are only attractive fronts held up on shaky props."

But the biggest political fuss was stirred up by Republican Howard Pyle, a deputy assistant to President Eisenhower. He provided Democrats with a perfect campaign issue when, discussing unemployment with Detroit newsmen, he remarked that "the right to suffer is one of the joys of a free economy." This together with Defense Secy. Wilson's famous remark about bird dogs and kennel dogs, seemed to clinch the argument that the Cadillac Cabinet is unconcerned about human suffering caused by unemployment.

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Now that summer's here, can spring be far behind?

FITZGERALD CASE NEXT

Ullmann clear of contempt; sharp blow to witch-hunt

AS WILLIAM LUDWIG ULLMANN, victim No. 1 of the Brownell Immunity Act of 1954, was cleared of a contempt charge under it on June 1, Edward J. Fitzgerald, victim No. 2, attacked the law and its use as a triple-hoax and announced that he would carry his fight against it to the Supreme Court if necessary.

WILLIAM L. ULLMANN
There is no contempt

Both men are among 37 former government employes named by Elizabeth Bentley as members of "spy rings" during the New Deal.

Ullmann at least three times in the past denied the Bentley accusations but was brought before a grand jury again with a grant of "immunity" from prosecution under the new law. He declined to answer questions under the Fifth Amendment and was automatically convicted of contempt and sentenced to six months. He appealed and on March 27 this year the Supreme Court upheld the law's constitutionality in a 7 to 2 ruling.

JUDGE'S RULING: Ullmann then excercised his right to "purge" himself and last month answered all questions asked him before a grand jury. On June 1 Federal Judge Edward Weinfeld, who had originally sentenced Ullmann, ruled that he had purged himself and vacated the sentence.

But a N.Y. **Times** report, which could only have come from government sources since grand jury proceedings are secret, said:

"The grand jury, however, showed considerable concern at having Ullmann cleared at this time. It is believed the panel felt that the witness' answers had

(Continued on Page 9)

Just A *gentle* Reminder

To renew for one year mail address plate with $3.

If your address plate reads JUNE '56 or earlier, your subscription is in arrears and due for renewal NOW.

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N. Y.

THE MAIL BAG

Walter-McCarran victims

OAKLAND, CALIF.

Please accept my sincere gratitude for the fine article of May 14, "Police State for Foreign Born." In the East Bay we also have victims of the McCarran-Walter Act.

These working class people have committed no crime, yet are placed in the humiliating position of criminals, their lives and those of their families constantly disrupted by supervisory parole. To name a few—Bill Heikila, Martin Jiminez, Paul Kline.

The Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has struggled long and hard to stop their deportation and to abolish supervisory parole. **R. Brown**

•

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

We wish to commend you on the excellent article. Its one weakness is its failure to mention the repeal movement against this heinous law. Over 40 bills for repeal or revision have been submitted in the House and Senate. The Michigan State Assembly has memorialized Congress for repeal and a similar resolution has been submitted in the New York State Legislature.

With Sen. Eastland heading the Senate Judiciary Committee and Rep Walter himself heading the House Judiciary subcommittee, it is easy to see why the law is still on the books. Recent proposals made by President Eisenhower and Atty. Gen. Brownell, under the guise of modifying the law, would tend to intensify the political persecutions under it.

At present, we are engaged in a petition campaign to urge our Southern Calif. Representatives to sign the discharge petition on HR 501, (Anfuso Bill) to revise the Walter-McCarran Act. This bill in essence is similar to the Lehman-Celler Bill. We urge your readers nation-wide to join us in this fight.

Leonard Ludel,
Los Angeles Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born

Van Orden Fund

NEWARK, N. J.

We thank all who contributed to the Katharine Van Orden Fund for Freedom. We are gratified to report that we have been able to make the following allocations from the Fund:

$500 to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

$500 to the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

$500 to the Montgomery, Ala., Improvement Assn.

$250 to the Katharine Van Orden Essay Contest.

A committee consisting of Prof. H. H. Wilson, Princeton; Prof. Broadus Mitchell, Rutgers; James Imbrie, Lawrenceville, N. J., and Charles R. Allen, Jr., author, will select a subject in the field of civil liberties and set up rules for the contest, judge the essays submitted.

You who knew and worked with Katharine can feel gratified that your contribution to the Fund will continue to keep her name in the forefront of the struggle to which she was so dedicated.

We are maintaining the Fund and plan to hold annual meetings.

Morton Stavis, Chairman.

Libby Burke Powell

BURBANK, CALIF.

Libby Burke Powell, who died in childbirth Feb. 25, 1956, made of the 38 years of her life a gallant battle for a better world, fighting for that coming tomorrow with insight, with optimism, with courage, and always with gaiety. .

Because of the inspiration of Libby Powell, a fund has been established to further the meaning of her life. And because the GUARDIAN fights not only for the same goal but brings to the struggle the same inspirational qualities, $100 is enclosed from the Libby Burke Powell Memorial Fund for the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

The Fund Trustees

A Nenni-type party?

PARIS, FRANCE

Some readers call for a new Nenni-type party. Are they sure Nenni would agree? Though big theoretical and practical problems remain to be resolved, both the Italian SP and CP envisage eventual reunification. Recent events in the U.S.S.R. will no doubt facilitate the process in Italy and elsewhere. Ought not the Left in the U.S. think in terms of reunification, too?

Certain features of the Italian SP appeal to many of us. Though beset and hampered by conflicting factions, it has usually resolved its conflicts in an open and above board manner. But the Italian SP has made very serious mistakes in the past, too, some of which stemmed from its form of organization as well as its doctrine. Let's not forget that it is the Italian CP, not the SP, which is by far the strongest working class party not only in Italy, but in W. Europe. Provided it is fully applied at all levels and leadership is collective, democratic centralism may still be the best, in fact the only effective form of organization and action for fighting Big Business.

In any case, rather than set up one more socialist party, ought we not to profit from the experiences (and errors) of the Italian and other working class parties in order to work toward the formation of a **united** socialist party at home soon? Perhaps we can thus avoid both the excesses of the otherwise successful Soviet experiment and the disillusionments of reformist and Labor Party "socialism" in our own march to the ultimate goal.

Still Hopeful

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

In 1951 the Army shipped from California to New York 807,000 pounds of tomatoes. During the same period the Navy shipped 775,000 pounds from the East Coast to California.

Page 33, "Food and Clothing in Government," Report of the Hoover Commission.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Marie Hall, Los Angeles, Calif. Be sure to send original clipping with entry.

Un-American Committee

LA CRESCENTA, CALIF.

Who stands for truth in changing world
Is happy, though he always must
Receive the lethal acids hurled
By sad men crawling in the dust.
The cancer of frustrated dreams
Eat the spirit's vital part;
Congealing guilt can dam the reams
Of kindness in the human heart.
The congressmen, who fear the light
And furnish scaffolds for the truth,
Were children aching in the night
For understanding, love and truth.
On Scherer of the twitching hand
And Jackson of the cold, dead eyes,
Take pity, for this luckless band
Has made the final sacrifice.

Hugh Hardyman

Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"According to Freud, deep down inside of me there's a father-image with an expense account."

Atoms for peace

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Have you seen in your food store the **Family Circle** magazine for May with this title in big letters on the cover: "WHY FEAR THE ATOM? A POSITIVE LOOK AT ATOMS FOR PEACE."

That the article on "How the Atom Is Changing Your Life" and what you can do, by John Jay Hopkins, chairman of General Dynamics Corp.—builder of the world's first atomic-powered submarines, **Nautilus** and **Seawolf**—appears in this magazine with a circulation of more than four million is evidence of progress toward the security of peace. Now we have something to talk about with our neighbors.

Helen Miller

Paul Brown case

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

The oft-postponed trial of Paul Brown has been postponed again to Monday, July 9. These frequent postponements have drained our funds and we are faced with an emergency. In the past the public has been most kind and generous in answering our appeals for funds. We ask that you consider a contribution so that we may carry on our work. The Committee also asks its friends to keep on the good work of requesting Dist. Atty. Wm. J. McCauley, Safety Bldg., Milwaukee, to drop the charges against Paul Brown.

Paul Brown Defense Com.
914 No. Plankinton Av.
Milwaukee 3, Wisc.

More Joyce

PITTSBURGH, PA.

Say! Robert Joyce may be art editor of the GUARDIAN but he also speaks the heart of what many people feel. He speaks for me.

Let's have more articles and comments from him whenever he is so moved. **Ruth Poritz**

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the progressive newsweekly

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"The right to be left alone by the Government is the most comprehensive of rights and the right most valued by civilized man." . . . JUSTICE BRANDEIS, 1928.

REPORT TO READERS

'Artificial treasons'

THAT RESOUNDING PATRIOT Senator Eastland is off on a new tack which, if he can make it reach far enough, would enable the Dept. of Justice to proceed against practically anybody in America as a traitor.

The Senator wants Congress to reinterpret the "treason" Article of the Constitution so it will apply to the Cold War as well as to hot, declared wars. Such a reinterpretation, he says, would only be "facing the realities" of today's situation (see p. 4).

We foresaw something like this when another resounding patriot (referred to at the time by our Dr. DuBois as a fathead), former Sen. Warren Austin of Vermont, castigated U.S. signers of the Stockholm Peace Appeal in 1950 as "traitors to their country." At that time we got in touch with a former Senator much higher in our esteem, Elmer A. Benson of Appleton, Minn., then chairman of the Progressive Party. Benson (also former governor of Minnesota) wrote a series of articles for us on the right and duty to oppose unjust war. In the course of the series, he reminded us that the Founding Fathers, in writing the Constitution, had phrased Article III Sec. iii on treason expressly to frustrate future finaglers like Eastland.

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE to Art. III Sec. iii, Benson pointed out that the Constitution had defined treason, as the one political crime, "with purposeful clarity, to prevent future misinterpretation . . .

"The framers of the Constitution had a purpose in thus narrowing the limits of political crime. It was explained in **The Federalist** (written by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton and John Jay to explain the Constitution to the people) Vol. XXXIII:

" 'As new fangled and artifical treasons have been the great engines by which violent factions, the natural offsprings of government, have usually wreaked their alternate malignity on each other, the convention have, with great judgment, opposed a barrier to this peculiar danger, by inserting a constitutional definition of the crime, fixing the proof necessary for the conviction of it, and restraining Congress, even in punishing it, from extending the consequences beyond the person of its author.' "

The Bill of Rights (Benson pointed out) went beyond this to get rid of the English common-law concept of sedition, then the biggest legal barrier to discussion of public issues:

"The Bill of Rights and the Constitution's definition of treason smashed the verbal concept of treason. Words do not constitute an overt act. The men who fought for American independence clearly intended to abolish forever prosecutions for criticism of the government . . ."

WE SHOULD NOT need to remind you that if Senator Eastland's plan can be carried out (and of course he'd have it made retroactive, in spite of the seeming legal barriers) the first victims would be you and us and maybe former President Herbert Hoover and former Ambassador Joe Kennedy, all of whom opposed the Korean "police action."

Just in case your representatives in Congress may have forgotten the fine points stressed by Messrs. Madison, Hamilton and Jay in explaining Art, III, Sec. iii initially, back in 1787 or so, we suggest you refresh their recollection now, before they do anything foolish and put the real American patriots to the expense of carrying the mess to the Supreme Court.

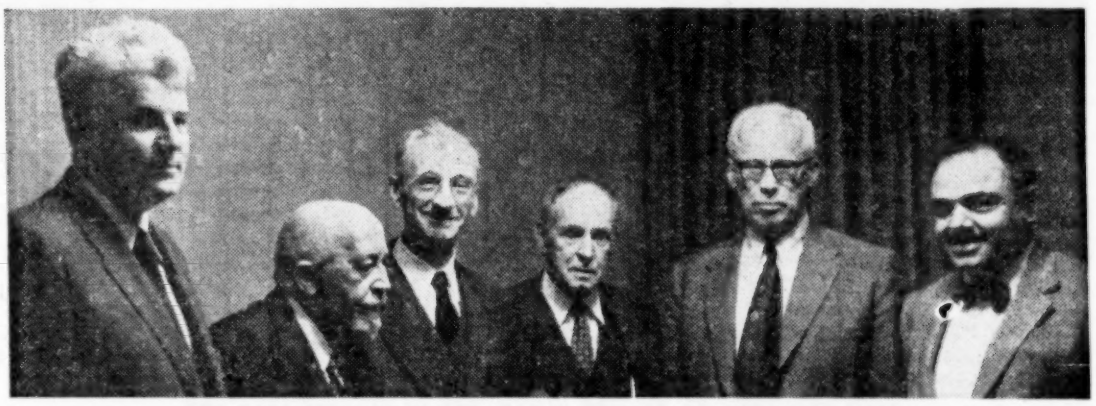
— THE GUARDIAN

W.E.B. DuBOIS ON COLD WAR HYSTERIA

'Cure for America's disaster lies within ourselves'

The following statement by Dr. DuBois was intended as his closing remarks at the debate on "America's Road to Democracy and World Peace" at Carnegie Hall May 27 (GUARDIAN, 6/4). Because of the number of questions he was unable to present it. The GUARDIAN feels that it is such a powerful statement for peace and sanity that it is presented here in full.

By W. E. B. DuBois



THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE MAY 27 DEBATE AT CARNEGIE HALL

L. to r.: Eugene Dennis, secy. U.S. Communist Party; Dr. DuBois; A. J. Muste, secy. emeritus Fellowship of Reconciliation; Roger Baldwin, chairman Int. League for the Rights of Man; Norman Thomas, veteran Socialist leader; Dr. Charles Lawrence, Fellowship secy.

THE WORLD IS DRUNK WITH WAR. For 50 years it has been swallowing great clots of human blood. It has seen death and destruction in every form. And now, when it struggles blindly to its feet, it is half insane with the horror of its memories and fear for the future.

This is all too easy to understand in most lands. Britain, after a century and a half of world rule, sees its empire in ruins and cannot adjust itself to ruling itself at home. France for three generations has seen its youth decimated in bloody sacrifice so that its science and art, its leadership of world culture have been killed before they were born. Germany, after miraculous rise to European leadership, has been plunged through abysses of such fantastic terror that it cannot today recognize its own soul. Poverty yoked with religion has in Italy and Spain left two great nations dumb and blind.

ALL THIS IS CLEAR AND UNDERSTANDABLE. But the situation here in the United States baffles understanding. We have hardly been at war. We have but skirted the edge of disaster. We have no dream of what real war means. On the contrary we have waxed rich and powerful while the rest of the world writhed. And yet because of its very lack of cause the impact of the present world situation upon us is more frightening than the stark reality on the rest of mankind.

We are a scared nation almost cowering in the midst of wealth and comfort. We are desperately afraid and yet can scarcely name our fears. We know perfectly well that the United States has not been attacked and that no nation on earth is planning to attack us. The utmost they plan is to resist our attack on them. We know well that there has been no plot in America violently to overthrow this government. Despite our hysterical jailing of men and public executions we have never even charged such attempts. We have set up secret police with power beyond anything of which this nation ever dreamed.

We have come to regard the making of things and their buying and selling for private profit as the chief end of man. We look on painting and poetry as harmless play. We see literature as handmaiden to money-making. We regard advertising as a profession even when it teaches the most profitable ways of lying. We consider the unselfish sacrifice of one for the progress of all as wasted effort. Wealth has become the height of our ambition even when we do not know how to spend it except to make more wealth or waste it in useless or harmful show.

We are surrendering our old belief that work is the path to wealth. We see the wealth of America distributed with no regard to work or sacrifice. We live increasingly on borrowed funds. So we have turned to gambling. We gamble on radio, on race track, in church and on stock exchange.

THE CURE FOR THIS CULTURAL DISASTER lies in ourselves, not in others. We need to discuss ourselves, not the U.S.S.R. First we must regain our reverence for the truth. We must look across the world and dare to see the former empire of the czars transformed to a peaceful, contented people, with schools for their children, pensions for their sick and old and books for all to read. We can see China whom America for centuries despised and caricatured, gave driblets of its wealth and exploited millions from its labor. This China today is conducted by Chinese for Chinese. That alone should uplift our faith in mankind.

If thus we dare to face the truth we may ourselves cure our unfounded hysteria. We can begin to make friends instead of suspecting our neighbors and jailing men for what they have a right to think. We may live beside Negroes, talk with Communists and, emerging from a world of snoopers, spies and liars, again walk like men. It was Franklin Roosevelt who told us: "We have nothing to fear but fear itself."

Finally we must revise our whole concept of education and look to our children. Children who play with fire arms and pretend to shoot their playmates dead are on the way toward murder in peace or war. Education is not for getting jobs. The best paying jobs are not the result of the best education. The highest science does not make the biggest weapons of death. Education is for building human minds which can reason and love. History is not to feed our self-esteem but to teach us the good future by revealing the evil past. Mathematics is not for aiming cannon but to teach us reason so as not to make fools of ourselves, age after age and time and time again. With educated children we can thread the murk and again cry:

"It is the stars, it is the ancient stars, it is the old and everlasting stars."

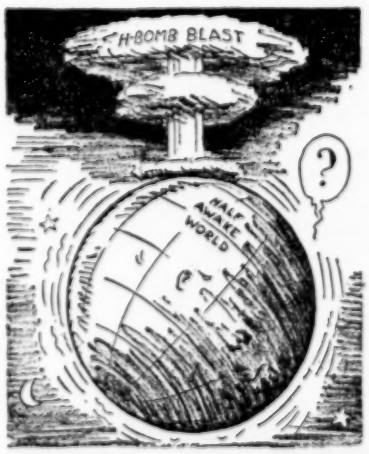
BIKINI AND AFTER

Scientists stress danger of radiation; H-tests ruining Japan fruit crops

THE AMERICAN H-BOMB explosion in the Pacific on May 21—the fireball could be seen 1,000 miles away—was preceded by a prayer. A chaplain aboard the U.S.S. McKinley intoned: "In the stillness before the dawn we hear the Voice saying, 'I will quietly look from my dwelling, like clear heat in sunshine, like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest. Be still, and know that I am good'."

The next day the AP described what the Lord would see from His dwelling if the H-bomb were dropped over a big city: Every building, even of reinforced concrete construction with 10-inch thick walls and 6-inch floors, would be crushed within two miles from ground zero; buildings with ordinary brick walls 18-inches thick would be destroyed to a distance of 6½ miles; steel frame buildings at a distance of over nine miles would be seriously damaged; suburban homes 12-15 miles away would be damaged; the flashing heat from the explosion would set off the kind of "fire storm" that burned Tokyo and Berlin in World War II.

INCREASE IN CANCER: Scientists say that persons within several miles of such an explosion would die of instantaneous radiation or develop lingering illnesses. The Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission's Dr. R. H. Holmes has reported a markedly sharp increase in leukemia (cancer of the blood) in the atom-bombed areas of Japan. Even in Scandinavia, remote from all test explosions, the snow was five times more radioactive than normal this winter.



Christian Science Monitor

"Will it shake him into action?"

"In a restrained address" (London **Peace News**, 5/18) on "The Genetic Dangers of Radiation" at London's University College, Prof. J. B. S. Haldane disputed scientist Sir John Cockroft's reassuring statements on the dangers, called for an improved government study. "I have no great confidence in the [present] Committee," Haldane said. "The chairman is Sir Ernest Rock Carling, who . . . at the Geneva Conference last year said that radiation effects might be a good thing to keep down the world's rising population." Haldane said it was possible that 100,000 deaths in future generations had been caused by bombs already exploded—not including many prenatal deaths.

EFFECTS IN JAPAN: Shortly after the May 21 explosion, Japan's Kyoto News Service reported "abnormal waves"; Japanese weather experts predicted that radioactive particles would reach Japan in a week or ten days, warned of extraordinary radiation in the rainfall expected at the end of the month. Within three days of the Bikini explosion and a week after the British nuclear test at Montebello Is., off the Australian coast, the Tokyo Meteorological Observatory reported heavy radioactive rainfall all over Japan. The Japanese Welfare Ministry found fruit and vegetables in Japan's central districts five times more radioactive than doctors thought safe for consumption, and warned people against eating them.

On May 23 the Japanese ship Mizuho Maru reported radioactivity 1,300 miles south of the Bikini testing area. On May 26 Japanese stevedores refused to unload the British freighter Arafura at Kobe until authorities had checked the vessel with Geiger counters. A fishing fleet owner at Tokyo's Iwaki Port reported that one of his skippers had developed radiation symptoms while cruising in Indonesian waters.

The same day the California State Health Dept. reported the appearance of fall-out materials on the West Coast—the earliest they could have reached California from the test region 5,000 miles away.

PROTESTS GROW: The dire potentialities of a nuclear war and the effects of the tests already made are bringing increasing protests. On May 21 many Japanese trade unions and civic organizations wired President Eisenhower and Secy. Dulles protesting the explosions. At the N.Y. **Times** Youth Forum on May 27, many school pupils spoke out sharply against the tests. They said the tests only increased fear and mistrust among Pacific Islanders and Asians, and called for the U.S. to "take the lead in showing that we are sincerely for peace."

On May 25 the Women's Intl. League for Peace and Freedom cited the horrors of nuclear weapons and intercontinental ballistics, called for resolution of differences among nations by negotiation, asked all Americans to dedicate Memorial Day not only "in tribute to our honored dead, but . . . to working for a world where there are no wars and where our children can live in peace."

AIN'T SEEN NOTHING YET: But Washington insisted on continuing the Bikini tests, promising the "most interesting shot" in mid-June—presumably the testing of a hydrogen-bomb warhead attached to a pilotless missile. London also announced it would use Christmas Island, on the Equator, as a base for its first H-bomb test next year.

Washington and London argued that the West must develop "superiority" over the East in quality, quantity and method of delivery of nuclear weapons. But, as the N.Y. **Post** pointed out (5/22), "this contest has reached a dimension in which the margin of advantage ceases to have any real meaning . . . Both sides are now in a position to destroy each other."

The **Post** concluded: "How long will it take our national leaders to realize that most of the world is crying not for bigger bombs but for more bread? . . . If Americans become convinced that this new H-bomb adventure proves we are safe, we have lost our national senses."

SEE YOU AT THE GUARDIAN WEEKEND WINGDALE ON THE LAKE JUNE 29-July 1 (SEE P. 11) MAKE RESERVATIONS NOW!

THE CHINA REVIEW CASE

Powell and Schuman hearing June 12 in San Francisco; Eastland rails at Hinton

ON TUESDAY, JUNE 12, in San Francisco three "unfriendly" witnesses before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee were to be arraigned in a Federal Court on indictments charging sedition during the Korean War.

The three are John W. Powell and his wife, Sylvia, and Julian Schuman, all of of whom engaged in publishing the **China Review** in Shanghai during the period beginning in 1946 and ending in 1953. All are U.S. citizens. Powell is the son of the late John B. Powell, founder of the **Review** in 1917 and a noted correspondent who died of mistreatment by the Japanese during World War II. Mrs. Powell is the former Sylvia Campbell, an UNRRA employe who met Powell while he was an OWI official in China during World War II. They were married in 1947. Schuman was a free-lance writer and broadcaster in Shanghai before joining the **Review** staff.

NO PHYSICAL ACT: All three returned to the U.S. voluntarily in 1953. The Powells were called before the Subcommittee when it was chaired by Sen. William E. Jenner late in 1954. Schuman was called by Eastland this year.

The **Review** was a consistent critic of U.S. China policy; the Subcommittee has denounced its criticism as a "betrayal." The Powells and Schuman since their return have stressed the benefits to the U.S. of trade with China; Sen. Jenner said they returned to "soften up the American people."

The indictments refer not to any physical act of the Powells or Schuman but only to their writings of three to six years ago in the **Review**. The law under which they are to be tried is an anti-sedition act of 1917 designed to suppress pacifists and other dissenters during wartime. The indictment accepts the concept that the U.S. was at war during the officially proclaimed UN "police action" in Korea.

ABSURD, SAYS SCHUMAN: Schuman said after the indictment:

"The idea that the Powells or I have committed 'sedition' or engaged in some sort of 'conspiracy' is absurd. This indictment is an attempt to rake up old animosities and head off the American people's growing acceptance of the world-wide idea of more normal relations with the government now in power in China."

JOHN & SYLVIA POWELL
After their indictment

The Subcommittee stuck to the China theme as it poked among the ashes left by earlier witch-hunts. When it recently questioned former New Deal official V. Frank Coe on the long-standing charges of a "spy-ring" purportedly headed by Harry Dexter White, as revealed by Spy "Queen" Elizabeth Bentley, China was the only field they explored. Coe emphatically denied Miss Bentley's charges against himself, defended White and described the Subcommittee's line of questioning as a whitewash for Chiang and the China Lobby.

HINTON'S CASE: Subcommittee members laid particular stress on a lanky Vermont farm specialist, William H. Hinton, and the contents of his footlocker, confiscated without warrant or any pretense to legality.

In 1953 Hinton returned from a stay in China as an agricultural technician. He worked there for UNRRA at first, later for the Chinese State Farm Management Bureau. He brought with him a footlocker containing 78 pounds of documents, notes, photographs and posters, the raw material for a book he planned to write on China.

The Customs Service labeled the matter "foreign propaganda" and held it. Hinton was told he would have to get an import license if he wanted his material. It took until May, 1955, for Hinton to get that license, but by then the Customs Service had turned the footlocker over to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

FOURTH AMENDMENT: Hinton next saw his own notes, along with letters to his wife and sisters, when he was a witness before the Subcommittee last March. The contents of his footlocker were then put on display. In vain Hinton and his lawyer, Milton H. Friedman of New York, cited the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution, guaranteeing the people's right "to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures . . ."

The Subcommittee made little headway with Hinton. He refused to identify the footlocker's contents because, as he told them, he feared that his material had been tampered with and some falsified evidence might have been planted.

Though the Subcommittee had promised to return the footlocker to Hinton at the hearing's end, they reneged, indicating that committee members had been personally offended by Hinton's behavior. Hinton began a suit against the committee members in Federal District Court in Washington; but up to last week process servers had been unable to serve all the members.

LETTER TO BROWNELL: Meanwhile the footlocker and its contents were turned over to the Dept. of Justice, although no legal action is pending against Hinton. Last week attorney Friedman, in a letter to Atty. Gen. Brownell, asked that the material be returned. Friedman wrote:

"I am sure you will agree that there is no constitutional or legal basis for your department to hold Mr. Hinton's property, and I have no reason to believe that the delivery to you was the result of any demand or other step of any kind taken by you . . . There is not the slightest foundation for any suspicion that the documents seized contain evidence of criminality. I call your attention to the fact that the Treasury Dept. held and examined the documents for two years and the Internal Security Subcommittee held and examined them another year, and that the Subcommittee admittedly made photostats, photographs and microfilms thereof. Nowithstanding all of these intensive, though illegal, examinations of Mr. Hinton's papers by government agencies hostile to him, no basis for accusation has been found."

WILLIAM H. HINTON
One man's footlocker

TREASON DEFINED: Last month Subcommittee chairman Eastland on the floor of the Senate read excerpts which he said were from Hinton's private letters and notes in that footlocker. He made his purpose plain: to reinterpret the definition of treason laid down with careful safeguards in Article III, Section 3 of the Constitution:

"Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No persons shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act or on confession in open court."

Eastland said: "I think we in Congress have not pursued this mandate of the Constitution sufficiently in terms of present realities . . . I believe that the recent indictment of three people who appeared before the Internal Security Subcommittee—John W. Powell, Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman—is a step in that direction. When I speak of present realities, I refer, of course, to that new kind of international conflict, the cold war."

THE COLD WAR ERA: Eastland went beyond interpreting the Korean "police action" as a state of war. He called for full wartime powers now in the name of the cold war. He gave a new definition to the cold war, too, dating it not from the Truman Era, but from the first victory of the Bolshevik revolution. He said:

"Mr. President, the cold war against the United States was declared in the Kremlin 40 years ago. It has been waged against us ceaselessly ever since. I ask Senators to think in terms of these realities as we consider legislation to implement the Constitutional definition of treason."

San Francisco-Bay Area: Save the Date of July 8

VIVIAN and Vincent Hallinan will be having a splendiforous picnic for the NATIONAL GUARDIAN on July 8 at their home in Ross, Calif. You can cool off at the pool and eat and make merry with the whole Hallinan family and the whole GUARDIAN family in the Bay area.

THE PICKED POCKETS

Old age benefits restored to Foster, other CP employes

GOVERNMENTAL policies which pick the pockets of political dissidents, last month received a sharp setback when Referee Peter J. Hoegen ordered the restoration to former employes of the Communist Party of full social security benefits based on earnings before 1952.

Following a memorandum from the general counsel of the U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare that those on the payroll of the CP were actually "employes of a foreign government," the Social Security Administration has withheld benefits from a number of former CP employes and billed them for payments already made.

Among the victims were William Z. Foster, 75, chairman of the CP, who earned $55 to $73 a week throughout his term of office. Like all others affected, he had paid taxes to cover social security benefits. The government, dismissing the contributions made by the employes to the social security fund, billed Foster for $915 already paid to him in old age benefits.

"NOT A SCINTILLA": Others stricken from rolls of the Bureau of Old Age Survivors Insurance were Alexander Bittelman, 66, and Jacob Mindel, 74, both in prison under the Smith Act, Mindel's wife, Rebecca, 70, Charles Dirba, 69, Alfred Wagenknecht, 74, and Mrs. Sadie Van Veen Amter, 69, widow of CP leader Israel Amter. The government asked that a total of $7,000 be returned.

These seven took legal action before the appeals council of the Social Security Administration. Attorney Harry Sacher argued that the government had shown "not a scintilla" of evidence of employment by a foreign government. Government attorney Charles A. Settle had argued only that the CP was a "branch of a world-wide conspiracy."

Sacher said that a glance at the salaries paid the people in question made it "inconceivable that any government, even the poorest in the world, would pay such pathetic salaries." He added that social security contributions paid by the seven, in some cases for over 20 years, had plainly given them a vested right in their benefits.

THE HEWITT CASE: The Washington **Post**, in an editorial last Dec. 30, warned that the government's action "may open the door to a train of abuses impairing the integrity of social security for everyone." But most other newspapers were silent on the matter until it was revealed that the family of an informer, George T. Hewitt, had also been deprived of benefits under the ruling. Hewitt left the CP in 1944 and thereafter appeared frequently as a government witness in witch-hunts until he died in 1952. His three children have been receiving Social Security checks of $120 a month.

The **N.Y. World-Telegram** front-paged the Hewitt story, deploring what it called the government's ingratitude. The Hewitt family started separate proceedings to regain the benefits.

BIG QUESTION UNANSWERED: Referee Hoegen's decision of last month, though won by the seven whose case was argued by Sacher, will apply to all victims of the policy, including Hewitt. Hoegen based his ruling on a statute of limitations in the Social Security Act, which, in this case, could not affect earnings before 1952. In most cases, the decision will restore full benefits since only a few accumulated earnings after that year. On the major question—paying social security benefits currentiy to employes of the CP—Hoegen reserved decision.

Another area of the pocket picking policy, the Veterans' Administration's denial of all pensions and veterans' benefits to those convicted under the Smith Act, will get a review on June 11 when CP leader Robert Thompson, now in Atlanta Penitentiary, will appeal to a VA board against denial of his benefits.

ERNEST T. WEIR: THE ROAD TO PEACE

A policy for America

By Ernest T. Weir

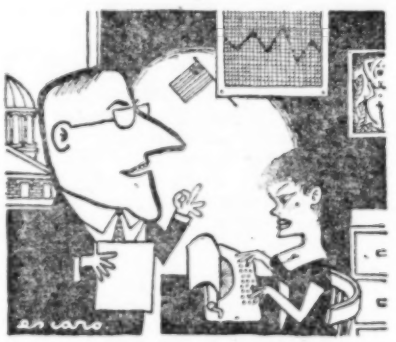
This article was excerpted from an address before the Poor Richard Club of Philadelphia. Weir is chairman of the National Steel Corp.

I BELIEVE most Americans would agree that genuine world peace is our country's ultimate aims. But I submit that in most of the time since World War II, the impression created by America has not been that of a country convinced of the possibility of peace but rather that of a country inclined toward the idea of eventual war.

This impression is due primarily to the consistent attitude toward Russia and communism that is expressed in so much of what we hear and read.

What they say boils down to this: Russia is not a normal nation but the center of a conspiracy to dominate and communize the world as soon as possible and by any possible means. We cannot trust, we cannot negotiate, we cannot deal with Russia. Armed force is the only thing she fears or respects.

Therefore, the United States must build an increasingly strong military position.



Liberation, Paris

"Dear Mr. Molotov: I regret that I cannot follow up your disarmament proposal of the 2nd inst.; your letter having arrived insufficiently stamped was refused by our services in conformity with Article 676 of the internal regulations of the ministry . . ."

Our country must induce other nations, singly and through alliances, to do the same thing and help them do it. Our country must give economic aid only on the conditions that recipient nations will join us in the line-up against communism. Our country must use all means—including such things as trade restrictions—to limit the potential of communist countries. By these methods, the United States will make itself the inner fortress of a far-flung defense system which can contain communist power and prevent its further expansion.

Can we really expect the Russian response to a "tough" policy on our side to be a "soft" policy on theirs? Hostility is bound to breed hostility; harsh words invite a reply in kind. If you were a Russian, how do you think our armed forces, our bases and our alliances—in conjunction with our words—would look to you? At whom else would you think they might be aimed? Would our explanation that they are purely for defense satisfy you completely? Would not the thought arise that we might sometime consider an attack the best defense?

How does the tough policy affect our Allies? They certainly show little agreement with it. It is a most significant thing that not a single other country has adopted the American view of Russia as a war menace.

WHAT ABOUT the tough policy and the uncommitted part of the world? In this entire section the thing most greatly feared and hated is not communism but colonialism. The uncommitted section is composed of lands which have been recently colonial or expect they will soon cease to be colonial. In their view, the United States policy prolongs the tenure of colonialism, and, therefore, stands in the way of their paramount objectives.

The tough policy was toned down quite a few decibels during and immediately following the Geneva Conference in July. In my opinion, the purpose and accomplishment of the Geneva Conference has been grossly misrepresented. It is charged with failure because it did not accomplish something it was not intended to accomplish in the first place. Its sole purpose was to set the stage for Western leaders and Russian leaders to respond to the demand of the world's peoples by giving assurance that neither side would resort to nuclear warfare in order to attain its objectives.

As Walter Lippmann has pointed out so effectively, the agreement made to discard war as a final instrument of policy did not commit Russia to a further agreement to accept our terms on disputed matters . . . any more than it committed the West to accept Russia's terms. The agreement was made that disagreement would be handled by negotiation and dealing—not by war.

This is a tremendous accomplishment. I do not see how its value can be overestimated; it provides a great new opportunity to establish a policy more in harmony with the changed and changing conditions of the world.

BEFORE any valid policy can be constructed, certain assumptions must be made about Russia. We should take for granted the fact that Russia's leaders and the leading segment of her population are thoroughly devoted to communist principles. They intend to make Russia as strong as possible in every respect.

But—and this is the important thing—the Russian leaders have taken great pains to make it clear that their methods will not include aggressive war. I think we can assume that they mean it . . . not just because they say so but because their record over the past 10 years has been one of war avoidance.

Herblock in Washington Post

"YEA, TEAM"

The controversy between East and West has been reduced to a basis of peaceful competition. Can we meet that challenge? I am positive we can.

First, we should maintain military strength at whatever level is necessary for national defense. We should maintain our alliances. We should protect our internal security.

Second, we should make it our permanent policy to keep the door always open to Russia and other communist countries for discussion and negotiation on any subject. We should use calm and moderate language. We should encourage the use of every means for broader and more frequent contacts between the peoples of Western and communist countries. And, despite the arguments used against it, I include trade as one of those means because I think its potential benefits outweigh any risks.

Third, in all relations with our Allies we should deal with them as full partners and not merely as instruments for carrying out "made in America" policies.

Fourth, we must readjust our relations to the uncommitted world. This is probably our most sensitive area. The United States is not a colonial power and never has been. But our principal Allies in Europe are colonial powers. And our moves to strengthen our Allies for the common defense against communism have appeared in the eyes of the Uncommitted World as support of colonialism. But the day of colonialism is past. It should be the role of the United States to help these people achieve their aims.

Fifth, we should make the adjustment that is perhaps most difficult for the American personality. We must realize that foreign affairs are not something to be disposed of in a hurry. Like the Europeans, the Russians and the Asians, we must begin to think of foreign policy—not in terms of months or years—but in terms of decades and even longer periods.

THE MODERATE approach to international problems will exhibit the true face of America. Moreover, it will allow for the passage of time to demonstrate whether there is in fact a fundamental change taking place in Russia. I believe that the signs are definitely in that direction.

If you believe, as I do, that America needs the moderate policy in today's world—for effective leadership toward genuine world peace—then I urge that it is your obligation to do everything to bring that policy into being.

WHEN PARIS CAME TO MOSCOW

Will Mollet's trip unite French Left?

By Anne Bauer

(Special to the GUARDIAN)

PARIS

THE MOSCOW VISIT of Premier Mollet and Foreign Minister Pineau may result in many things: more Russian ballet in Paris and more French books in the Soviet Union; more East-West trade; progress in disarmament talks — perhaps even an early settlement of the Algerian conflict. Will it also hasten peaceful coexistence between French Socialists and Communists? That is a question often asked in Paris these days.

The change in Moscow's climate undeniably had its effect on French journalists accompanying Mollet. Militantly anti-Soviet correspondents dropped their shop-worn sneers and became factual; those merely cool before became friendly.

The correspondents were impressed by Khrushchev's relaxed good humor in his exchanges with Mollet. This one for example:

K. "The cold war resembles a corpse around which his family and friends are mourning, hoping for his resurrection. But the corpse remains a corpse."

M. "France and the West in general are willing to attend the cold war's funeral."

K. "But there will be mourners behind the coffin all the same."

Wall Street Journal

PRIMARY IN MOSCOW?

SCENE IN THE STREET: At times Khrushchev's notorious frankness became an efficient form of diplomacy. "It isn't in your interest to support the Baghdad Pact," he told Mollet. "But you are quite right in wishing to remain friendly with the British. Therefore, I will not ask you for anything." Later he said:

"Sooner or later you will have to recognize China. I know, you want to wait until the American elections are over. But, do you really think the elections will change anything?"

Then there was the amazing street scene after the French Embassy reception. When the four French and Soviet leaders came out, a crowd of 500 cheered. Khrushchev, instead of entering his car, opened the police cordon. There was a mad rush, and the four found themselves in the center of a laughing, crying, handshaking, wildly cheering crowd. The extraordinary spectacle impressed even the veterans of Moscow's foreign colony.

PARTY TALK: Earlier the French and Soviet leaders held a lengthy conference alone. Nothing leaked out except that it dealt with Socialist-Communist relations. Mollet told correspondents that at times the participants spoke as leaders of their respective parties rather than as heads of governments.

The general atmosphere of cordiality and frankness in Moscow may in the end be more important than the official communique. A French Socialist delegation, leaving Moscow as Mollet arrived, had already declared that "a truly peaceful world cannot be built without, and far less against, the Soviet Union . . . Dialogue is now possible between the Soviet Communist Party and ourselves."

NO BIG CHANGE YET: Conceding "dialogue", of course, will not prevent the Socialists from following their traditional anti-Communist line at home. But they will find themselves in an uncomfortable position if they are friendly to Communists in Russia and unfriendly to them at home—especially with the increasing trend toward unity of action among the SP and CP rank and file.

Observers here do not look for any immediate drastic changes in the Mollet government's position. And the time does not seem ripe yet for a change in the balance of power at home and France's position in the world on the basis of SP reappraisal of its relations with the French CP. Nevertheless, Mollet's Moscow talks were important as steps in the direction of the current political trends at home and, to a large extent, abroad.

Sam Klein's credo

SAM KLEIN, a candidate for sheriff, said yesterday he was misquoted in a Tribune story of the Plant City political rally Saturday night. He issued the following statement:

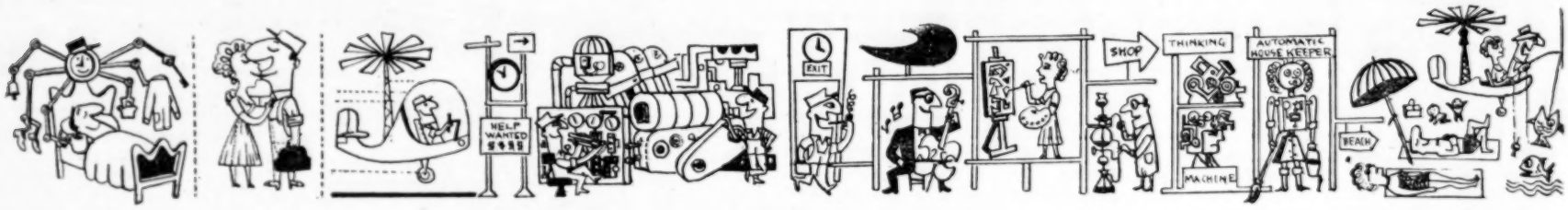
"I, Sam Klein, never at any time in this sheriff's race, accused Sheriff Blackburn of speaking at a Negro deputy's funeral. As far as I'm concerned, when a man dies, that closes the book. What happens to him after that is the business of the Lord and not any mortal.

"I believe all news should be reported truthfully, and a candidate should not be quoted for something he did not say."

—Tampa (Fla.) **Tribune, May 1.**

THE DEBATE AND THE FERMENT ARE RISING

Automation: What effect is it having on British labor?



Automation—as advertised under "People's Capitalism." Lavoro, Rome

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

IN BRITAIN the great debate on automation goes on as a 13-day strike by Standard Motor Co. workers in Coventry resulted in a company agreement to retain at least 1,000 of 3,500 workers declared "redundant" because of the introduction of machines that replace men. But the jobs were "saved" only by putting thousands of other employees on a short work week with a reduction of take-home pay.

In some aspects the developing struggle here recalls U. S. patterns, as when Standard managing director Alick Dick called the walk-out "the result of action by avowed Communists," and the **Daily Telegraph** ascribed the whole ferment to a "Kremlin plot" to "prevent the introduction of new production methods" in Western industries. But even most of the right-wing press is now walking guardedly.

"TOO REVOLUTIONARY": The **Times** admitted that the "natural instinct when one is hurt is to fight," and that workers' resistance is "not against automation but because they refuse to accept the incidental hardships which arise out of its introduction."

What is quite un-American about the ferment here is that rank-and-file workers see automation's social and economic problems—and even right-wing union leaders must present them, at least by lip-service—in a context of the struggle for socialism. At the Labour Party's May Day rally in London, deputy party leader James Griffiths said: "We can—and will—make the second industrial revolution the basis for the establishment of a democratic socialist society in Britain."

Woodworkers Union pres. Brinham told his annual conference that "the government should throw off its dogma of a so-called free economy" and the idea that the country's best interests are served by "individuals and groups seeking their own self-interests."

THE GOVERNMENT'S JOB: The pro-Labour **Daily Mirror** squarely told the government to produce a "bold plan" to avoid "the Coventry tragedy being repeated in every major city in Britain." It was the government's responsibility, said the **Mirror**, to arrange in advance and pay for the re-employing, re-training, moving and re-housing of workers displaced by automation, and "a senior minister" must be appointed to tackle this. The **Mirror** reflected the May Day mood of the mass of workers as expressed by such leaders as the Chemical Workers' Robert Edwards MP, the Public Employees' Bryn Roberts and the Shipbuilders' Harry Urwin, and in resolutions passed at the Assn. of Scientific Workers' and other annual union conferences.

The government and the right-wing press, trying to toss responsibility back into the unions' laps, are saying: "Look at America"—where, according to the **Telegraph**, "automation was once feared and is now taken as a matter of course" and everything in the garden is lovely. The Labour Party's **Daily Herald**, noting a similar suggestion, drew the apt comment from the **Daily Worker:** "This should interest the 150,000 unemployed in the U.S. motor industry, not to speak of the American trade unions who are more disquieted about automation than British unions appear at this moment to be."

By and large Britain's labor movement is looking at the problems ahead clearly and soberly, as problems which can be solved but which only re-enforce its rejection of the capitalist economy. It is still determined to end capitalism peacefully but now realizes that its political struggle is lagging seriously behind automation's "compulsory revolution," as the Assn. of Supervisory Staffs, Executives & Technicians calls it in a lucid automation pamphlet.

NO ANSWERS: Meanwhile not only trade unionists, but export traders and smaller industrialists who don't have the capital to automate, are worried by the Tory government's failure to wake up to the tremendous social and economic challenge. The government's long-awaited Scientific & Industrial Research Dept. report on automation states the issues but offers so little answer that the **Times** calls its discussion of the obstacles "disappointing . . . too perfunctory"; the **Manchester Guardian** is unhappy about the report's "genial assurances that all will be well." Prime Minister Eden in a May speech had nothing to offer but a plea for labor-employer "co-operation," stressing again the need to keep wages down and make sacrifices.

In the midst of all this comes one Muravyov, mayor of the Soviet industrial city of Sverdlovsk, telling industrial Birmingham that Sverdlovskians are eager to automate as fast as possible since "nobody can lose" by it. And Yevgeni Soldatov, one of an 18-man Soviet engineers' delegation visiting London's Mechanical Handling Exhibition where a miniature factory operated entirely by one girl is on display, said he "couldn't understand" why British enterprises making automated machinery and electronic equipment are laying off workers. "In the Soviet Union," said he, "we have as much automation as possible because it means making work easier and accelerating production. No one is afraid of being unemployed."

In Coventry—the only British city where Labourites and Communists marched together on May Day—a conference on April 30 attended by all elements of the working-class movement passed a resolution urging that embargoes on China trade be lifted. The extent to which automation impact on British workers could thus be cushioned was underlined by a report from Peking, where a Coventry Councillor and factory shop-steward called at the foreign trade ministry to show brochures of Coventry-made vehicles. The ministry told him China needed "over a million tractors alone." A few days later the press was listing 30,000 workers on short time in Britain's Midlands including 23,000 in auto and tractor plants.

RIGHT TO LEISURE: In Paris on the May 20 week-end a conference of metal-workers' delegates from 11 countries, chaired by the U.S.'s Victor Reuther who spoke of "increased freedom from work," said the "compulsory revolution" called for a 40-hour week in Europe and even shorter hours in the U. S. "More leisure" is one thesis of the ASSET pamphlet which speaks pretty much for the average thinking worker in Britain. Pointing to the danger from costly automation of even greater concentration of industrial monopoly power, it says that defense against this "may become a political issue of the highest importance" and public ownership is the answer to urgently-needed automative development in areas where private owners can't afford it.

Britain, says the pamphlet, "must become a manufacturer and exporter of automative machinery." Broad extension of technical and technological education for young workers, and provision for workers too old to acquire new skills, are the government's "obligation to society." And the trade unions cannot accept—as the Coventry workers said by walking out—the refusal of management to reveal and discuss their plans in advance: "the managerial function can no longer be regarded as exclusive to the manager."

Automation—as people fear it under capitalism.

WEEK OF JUNE 16-24

Rosenberg memorial service set; Sobell meetings also planned

MEMORIAL SERVICES at the graves of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and public action to help win justice for Morton Sobell will mark the third year since the Rosenbergs were executed on June 19, 1953.

The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell has designated June 16-24 as a period of "intensified efforts to bring the truth in the Rosenberg-Sobell case to the public."

The grave-side services for the Rosenbergs will be held Sunday, June 17, 1 p.m., at Wellwood Cemetery, Pinelawn, L. I. Transportation will be supplied for those who wish to attend. Information may be obtained from the Sobell Committee, 940 Broadway, N. Y. C. (AL 4-9983).

From June 16--24, the Sobell Comm. said, house gatherings will be held and leaflets giving the facts on Sobell's appeal for a new trial will be distributed in New York. The Committee urged its supporters to visit Congressmen, ministers and community leaders to ask help in securing Sobell's freedom.

NEW BOOK DUE: Rosenberg-Sobell case meetings were being planned for June in many cities throughout the country. Sobell committees were scheduling newspaper ads, mailings and other projects to bring the facts on the Sobell case to the attention of more people.

The third anniversary of the executions will also be marked in France, Italy and other countries. Labor MP Sydney Silverman will be a speaker at a public meeting in London.

John Wexley's book, **The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg,** published a year ago, has convinced many readers of the miscarriage of justice in the Rosenberg-Sobell case, the Committee says. Monthly Review Press on June 19 will publish a new book on the case. It is a study of the Rosenberg-Sobell trial by Prof. Malcolm Sharp of the Univ. of Chicago Law School and Chairman of the Natl. Lawyers Guild. It is entitled **Was Justice Done?**

The long-term view

IS IT FANCIFUL to imagine that Sir Winston [in his Aachen speech suggesting NATO "should not exclude Russia"] is prophesying the eventual emergence of a Grand Alliance, including Russia, aimed at containing the vast and formidable Chinese millions? In the long-term view China, with her swollen population and vaulting ambitions, may well constitute the principal threat.

—London **Daily Telegraph**, May 11.

THE REAPPRAISAL GOES ON

Czechs take a new look at state of their nation

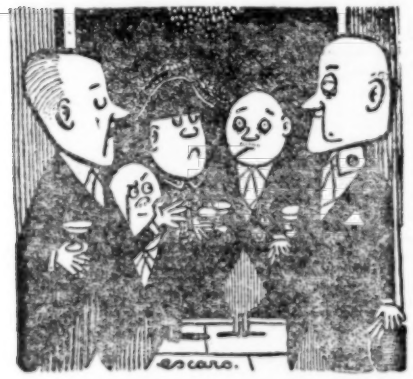
By George Wheeler
(Special to the GUARDIAN)

PRAGUE

IN A TWO-HOUR press conference late last month, Premier Viliam Siroky reviewed the developments in Czechoslovakia since the 20th Congress of the CP in the Soviet Union. He outlined the main problems before the Czechoslovak people today and answered questions as fast as the correspondents put them.

Premier Siroky said: "We are aware of the fact that not everyone looks upon our economic development with affection. We know, however, that all people in all countries agree with us when we say: Let us not compete in arming and in the production of destructive weapons, but let us compete in the development of international trade and in showing who can develop their national economy better and improve the life of their people more quickly."

Siroky's manner was easy and the answers direct to touchy questions. His



Liberation, Paris

"Demobilizing 1,200,000 men? Pretty vague, that—what we need is the list of names."

economic figures were impressive. Czechoslovakia is catching up with or has passed the economies of the leading capitalist countries of Europe in such basic items as output of steel and electricity per capita, he said. It still has far to go in some respects to catch up with the U. S., he said, "but we will."

FLOOD OF CRITICISM: This increase in economic strength and ambitious plans for the future are regarded as one of the main reasons why it was deemed both possible and essential to take the brakes off criticism and self-criticism. Following the 20th Congress there has been a flood of criticism, some malicious, but most of it healthy, and much long overdue. This was the side that Siroky emphasized:

"Sharp and really healthy criticism concerns almost all sections of our political, economic and cultural life. It is directed toward improving the work of the State and economic organs, removing superfluous centralism, and taking more effective measures against bureaucracy. It is directed toward a more thorough application of the democratic principles of our people's democracy, in order that socialist legality may always be applied consistently. It is directed against all which has so far hampered the development of our national economy, culture and science."

STUDENT DEMONSTRATION: The first sharp question was: Would the students who had been arrested in connection with their demonstration May 20 be released? The students, around 3,000 from various universities, had paraded with placards demanding an end to compulsory attendance at classes, an improvement in lectures, text books, more new dormitories, broader curricula, etc.

Siroky said that no students had been arrested or imprisoned, and there was no intention to arrest or punish anyone. He said that it was a mild demonstration and that there was nothing unfortunate in such criticism. He did not agree with all they said, nor did he expect that they would agree with all of his replies to them. But he emphasized their **right** to criticise, said that they should not lose the critical spirit and that the end to be kept in view was that all should be well educated.

NO GENERAL AMNESTY: Would there be a general amnesty, such as there was in Poland? "No," because in each country conditions were different. In Czechoslovakia, Siroky said, only a few tens of persons were in prison because of crimes against the state; these cases had been reviewed and no breach of justice, for the most part, had been found. Some had been released and rehabilitated. But the numbers were such that each case could be examined individually.

Siroky said that the charge of "Titoism" in the Slansky trial had been a mistake. But the fundamental charges against Slansky and his collaborators stood as proved in court.

Asked if Archbishop Beran would be "released from prison," Siroky said he had never been confined. He had simply been forbidden to carry on anti-state activity in church. When the reporter asked if he could interview Beran, Siroky offered to phone him from the press conference. The reporter said that he wanted to see the Archbishop. Siroky then offered to bring Beran to a press conference.

ARMS FOR THE EAST: A New York reporter asked if the Syrians who were in Prague were negotiating an arms deal similar to the Egyptian one. Siroky replied that this was much misrepresented in the West. Czechoslovakia, he said, had not and would not supply enough arms to any country to launch an aggressive war. But the countries of the Middle East had a right to protect their independence, he added, and if they wanted to buy arms with the goods they had to offer in trade, they had a right to buy them where they wanted, and not just on the terms set by the U. S., Britain, France or Canada.

He noted that Canada had just sold Israel the latest model jet war planes: Why did not the reporters ask Canada and the other countries about the shipments instead of concentrating attention on Czechoslovak trade? Czechoslovakia was deeply interested in the peaceful development of trade with these countries and would cooperate in the UN in any agreement to limit arms, he said.

NO CUT IN ARMS NOW: Siroky said Russia's cutting off 1,200,000 men from its armed forces was a move that the other big powers would do well to copy. But, he said, in view of the rearmament of West Germany, and the demands for revision of the Czech and Polish frontiers, Czechoslovakia could not make a further cut in her own armed forces. Czechoslovakia would be one of the first to disarm once an agreement was reached through the UN for disarmament and the security of Europe, he said.

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Negro student leader set to graduate expelled for S. Carolina State strike

VIRTUALLY all undergraduates of S. Carolina (Negro) State College at Orangeburg stayed away from classes, beginning April 9. Refusing to discuss with the state press any reasons for their strike, the students talked freely to out-of-state reporters. Student spokesmen handed President Renner C. Turner a list of grievances; they confirmed reports that behind the nearly 100%-effective walkout was jimcrow.

Among the grievances were the state legislature's authorizing an investigation of NAACP activities on the campus; the college's use of dairy, bakery and laundry products handled by local merchants affiliated with the White Citizens Council (GUARDIAN, 4/16). The strike ended April 13 with Turner swinging the club of expulsion over the students' heads.

LEADER EXPELLED: On April 25 the college's all-white trustee board (many are known WCC members (met to track down the "subversives." They expelled Student Council president Fred Moore for "infraction of college regulations"; branded the strike "a student insurrection" led by elements "both on and off the campus"; attacked as "unwise and unkindly" a resolution signed by 90% (176 members) of the faculty supporting the NAACP; called attention to a new state law making it "unlawful for any member of the NAACP to be employed by the state, school district, county, or any municipality thereof."

Turner had trustee backing for his ban on student meetings. Students imposed one of their own on all fraternity and sorority dances—usually gay spring festivals on the campus—and all other social activities for the rest of the semester. A student leader explained that this was the least they could do "to express our appreciation of Fred." They planned to collect among themselves and give to Moore an equivalent of funds usually spent on good times, "to make good the money" he had spent towards his graduation. Partly handicapped by polio, Moore was to receive his diploma this month. He went to Chicago to complete his work this summer at Roosevelt College.

State College students meanwhile continue their propaganda war against Turner. Signs scribbled in chalk, reading, "Be A Man", have given way to neatly lettered "directions," in black paint, to the president's house: "This way to Uncle Tom's Cabin."

COMMUNISTS ASK QUESTIONS

How the Left shapes up in Italy

(Special to the GUARDIAN)

ROME

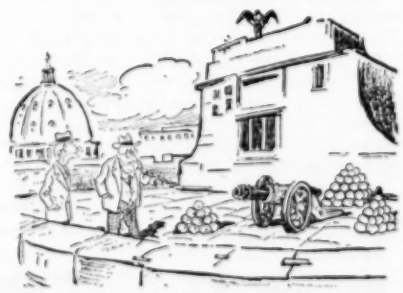
THE KHRUSHCHEV BOMBSHELL has thus far had less perceptible reactions in Italy than elsewhere in W. Europe. The effect here has been psychological rather than political.

The problem of Socialist-Communist cooperation (the main aim of the 20th Congress) had already been solved in Italy. The Italian SP has for some years followed "a pact of action" with the CP. As to the internal effects of the 20th Congress on the Italian CP, this much is known: several large sections of the CP have sent questions to the Central Committee demanding explanations, expressing dissatisfaction and calling for general review of all party work. The SP, often pursuing a line independent of the CP, has been less affected by events in Moscow

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL: Because of its huge size (2,500,000 members) the CP contains within its ranks and its top leadership many shades of opinion. Till now, however, intra-party differences have been kept well beneath the surface.

Any "cult of personality" criticism eventually directed at party leader Togliatti, or other Central Committee members, will almost certainly take two forms:

(1) Personal criticism—the question of internal democracy or the lack of full discussion of party program and tactics, and the writing of directives without sufficient day-to-day contact and cooperation necessary for their attainment.



Il Paese, Rome

DULLES IN ROME

"You'll have to buy arms from America. These old weapons are no longer good enough to defend the Western World!"

(2) Political criticism—discussion of the "Parliamentary" emphasis that has grown increasingly important in the CP program, and the claim that the Central Committee has failed to develop a program of action among the masses independent of Parliamentary events.

TRADE UNION LOSSES: Perhaps the important criticism of CP leadership will come from the widespread concern over last year's severe losses suffered by Left trade unions in the industrial North. Discussion of trade union work methods and of "Parliamentarism" will, it seems likely, have the most significant effect on future Marxist development in Italy.

As for Togliatti personally, no one—not even his severest critics—impugn his capabilities or the practical results of his leadership, which has increased the CP vote in Italy from 4,350,000 in 1946 to over six million in 1953, the last national election.

Marxism in Italy is an influential historical force. An example of this is the recent naming of one of Rome's newest streets Via Antonio Gramsci, after the founder of the Italian CP. Despite fierce argument and debate, the Left remains the acknowledged representatives of the Italian working class and peasants.

THE CHOICE: Recently, a number of intellectuals—Communists, Socialists, non-party artists, writers and journalists—were arguing heatedly about the Stalin reappraisal and Togliatti's position in the Italian CP. A writer who had been condemning both Togliatti and SP leader Nenni was asked how he was going to vote in the May 27 election. He replied "Communist or Socialist—I haven't decided yet." When his grave criticism of the CP and SP leadership was pointed out to him he replied: "Yes—but it's impossible to vote for anyone else."

"Stop worrying about your golf . . . Stay in Washington more and relax!"

6 MONTHS AFTER MONTGOMERY

Tallahassee Negroes boycott buses after arrest of two

THE MISSES Carrie Patterson and Wilhelmina Jakes, students at Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes, were arrested by a Tallahassee policeman on May 20 and charged with "placing themselves in position to incite a riot." Specifically, their crime was refusal to give up seats in front and move to the rear when ordered by the bus driver to do so. The young women were released under $25 bond each and hearing set for June 1; but a spontaneous boycott of buses by A and M students spread throughout the city.

A crowd of "some 500," said the St. Petersburg **Times**, including "influential religious, civic and educational leaders of the Negro community [and] a few Florida A and M University students," met on the night of May 30 in the Rev. C. A. Steele's church, formed the Inter-Civic Council, with the minister as president, and vowed to stay off Cities Transit, Inc., buses "until we have been given satisfaction." Mr. Steele also heads the Tallahassee NAACP.

THE DEMANDS: "Satisfaction" means canceling a set of grievances similar to those presented to City Lines, Inc., by the Montgomery Improvement Assn.: seating on a first-come, first-served basis; courtesy to Negro passengers by bus drivers; Negro drivers on runs where Negro riders predominate. The Florida capital's 38,100 population is divided 23,708 white and 14,392 Negro. Cities Transit Inc., according to **Moody's Transportation Manual** (1955), belongs to the same Natl. City Lines, Inc., of Chicago, whose Montgomery City Lines drivers precipitated the protest there.

Police on the day after the meeting dropped charges against the students but arrested Mr. Steele allegedly for passing a red light. He was released without bail to appear in court later. NAACP secy. R. W. Sanders declined to comment on the arrest but said a car pool was already operating effectively "and more cars are joining it." He said moral support and offers of financial help had come "from ten different cities in the state."

COPS ON THE TRAIL: In Montgomery, meanwhile, Richard Harris, druggist and a founder of the protest movement, told reporters: "The police have been trailing our new station wagons and taking pictures of them." He added that "something must be in the wind, because they've been stopping the drivers and questioning the riders." He figured the police were "about to do something to give us some more publicity."

An Associated Negro **Press** writer said "the 13 shiny, streamlined station wagons operating in the boycott pool" were "impressive." He wrote: "Each one has the name of a church on it, and the sign of the cross, painted in gold, sparkles just above the middle of the windshield." Transportation director is the Rev. B. T. Simms, pastor of the Greater St. Marks Baptist Church. He said, as the protest movement entered its sixth month, that MIA's transportation system "includes 200 cars, carries from 10,000 to 20,000 a day, and costs, to operate, in excess of $1,000 a day."

NEW HARASSMENT: The station wagons were purchased by the churches associated with the protest. Operating on regular routes and picking up and dispatching riders on the way, they are a part of the pool from 6 A. M. until 7:30 P. M. Orders are in for additional wagons. The Rev. Mr. Simms observed that while the new properties had given "a lift to the movement," they had aroused the antagonists' envy. He said: "Last week the insurance company suddenly canceled all our policies. However, we got coverage through another firm."

The MIA was organized last Dec. 5, the day Mrs. Rosa Parks was fined for having refused to give up her seat in a City Lines bus to a white man. Original purpose was to conduct a 1-day bus boycott. Today MIA has seven full-time employes. Headquarters is in the building of the Bricklayers Local, 530 Union St., Montgomery, Ala. Montgomery protest leader Martin Luther King wired encouragement to the Tallahassee group.

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post Dispatch
Southern road to nowhere

THREE RECENT CONVENTIONS

Methodists take big steps to end jimcrow in church

By Eugene Gordon

THE METHODIST CHURCH General Conference (white), embracing a 360,000-member all-Negro Central Jurisdiction unit, met in a 2-week quadrennial session in Minneapolis April 25-May 9. The African Methodist Episcopal Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church held their 35th quadrennial conventions in Miami and Pittsburgh, respectively, May 2-16. Latest official membership figures total for the Methodist Church, 9,180,428; AME, 1,166,301; AMEZ, 960,000. Each being autonomous, each adopted its independent program.

EYE ON ASIA: Members of the Methodist Church's Central Jurisdiction led in voting to disband this jimcrow unit, formed in 1939 when Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Protestant and Methodist Episcopal South merged into one church. Regarded by many as un-Christian, the all-Negro group—with its 19 conferences (or divisions)—is non-geographic. The 113 all-white conferences are geographic groupings. Though the Negro group's integration was recommended "with reasonable speed," it is expected to take years. Members of this group have no connection with the Negro Methodist churches.

A resolution read by a Negro layman asked for appointment of a committee on integration "to study means of providing for immediate action on the racial issue in the church." It said the church's own Commission Study Plan implied study for possible integration without directly stating it, and added: "To hold the respect of the Asian people" the Methodist Church must do away with segregation. The resolution was adopted.

Methodists and others agreed that the conference took a long step forward when it named Asst. Secy. of Labor J. Ernest Wilkins, a Negro, to head the Judicial Council, "the Supreme Court of Methodism." The Baltimore **Afro-American** said: "We can never become completely discouraged about the racial situation [when] the world's largest body of Protestants" take such steps to abolish discrimination and, "as if simply to teach a badly needed lesson that integration can work, selects as [Wilkin's] assistant a layman who is superintendent of public schools in, of all places, Montgomery, Ala."

SECRET ALLIES: AME delegates, spurred by their 5-year-old Brotherhood (organized young ministers and laymen), arrived in Miami determined to reform certain church practices. NAACP special counsel Thurgood Marshall reminded them that "ever increasing numbers of Southern white people" were secretly fighting for the Negroes.

Unexpected cooperation by city officials and notoriously lily-white Miami hotels and restaurants was reported. The **Afro's** Art Carter wrote that "the power of the desegregated dollar"—$2,500,000 was spent in two convention weeks—opened "31 hotels on Miami Beach . . . notwithstanding the political censure they received for so doing, and restaurants in the vicinity of hotels housing AME guests displayed welcome signs." Miami's mayor presented a gold key to host Bishop Gibbs.

Candidate for Governor Sumpter Lowrie had films made of "the invasion of Florida's wonderful resort city by Negroes" and showed them on TV the night before primary election. He said: "Florida has spent millions to attract tourists, but not this kind. . . . Nigras were made to wait on white people, and here we see white people waiting on nigras." Opponent Gov. Collins explained that though he "was shocked personally . . . there was nothing I could do legally to prevent it." Collins won the primary.

Delegates did not neglect their tasks. Fourteen days after their arrival they had:

- Ordered a committee of laymen to assign all bishops to new districts, "for the good of the church."
- Adopted a $3,200,000 budget with stipulations that remove absolute control of budget matters from the bishops and general church officials.
- Elected the first African bishop—Dr. Francis Gow—to represent the AME Church on that continent.

The Council of Bishops declared in a statement on civil rights that though the AME Church was "founded by persons of African descent in protest against race prejudice . . . it has never refused either its membership or ministry [to anyone] because of race or color, [and we today] reaffirm this position and call upon our ministry to actively seek to integrate all persons into the church."

Afro-American, Baltimore
CORNERED

HERE LIES THE KEY: The AMEZ delegates at Pittsburgh were urged by church education secy. James E. Eichelberger to "map your strategy and tactics" so as to prepare the membership adequately for integration. Rep. Charles Diggs (D-Mich.) told the delegates:

"Within the ballot box lies the key to all the doors of opportunity we seek. . . . Do you think the 100 [Congress] members who signed the Southern Manifesto would have done so if the Negroes in their states were voting the way they should?. . . I don't urge you to stay [South] if there is a compelling reason to seek your fortune in the North, but I urge you to think seriously before you succumb to legendary opportunities in the North. If we continuously populate the North, we will drain the South of leadership."

He cautioned that passive resistance was no universal cure-all: "Under certain circumstances, under specific injunctions, with the right leadership, the right following, it can be bold retaliation. But indiscriminate use in areas where there is counter pressure would be unwise."

Mrs. Ruth Whitehead Whaley, secy. of the N. Y. C. Board of Estimate, said that, while fighting for integration, "I, a black woman, have roots, and I need to know . . . that there were [black] women like Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth." Mrs. Tubman, underground railroad conductor during slavery, bequeathed her Auburn, N. Y., home to the AMEZ Church. It is maintained as a shrine of the Negro people.

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THE WITCH-HUNT ROLLS ON

Probers gun for Mine-Mill in Denver, move to St. Louis

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE on Un-American Activities, which is in friendly competition with the Eastland Subcommittee for election-year sensations and headlines, ended four days of hearings in Denver, Colo., on May 18 with threats of contempt and perjury proceedings against several witnesses. All told, 34 persons appeared before the committee headed by Rep. Frances E. Walter (D-Pa.). Of these, four were government witnesses; three others denied vehemently all accusations against them—they face possible prosecution for perjury—and the remainder invoked their constitutional right not to answer questions.

Another round of hearings was scheduled to begin June 4 in St. Louis, Mo., where some 50 persons were reported to be under subpena. This expedition was to be headed by Rep. Morgan M. Moulder, a Democrat seeking re-election from that state. An earlier jaunt to Southern California was headed by two Democrats likewise seeking re-election in that region.

AIMED AT MINE-MILL: Principal target in the Denver proceedings was the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, which has already been cited by Atty. Gen. Brownell to the Subversive Activities Control Board as "communist-infiltrated." Eight members of the union, most of them employes of the national headquarters in Denver, declined to answer questions about their political beliefs or associations. One of the eight was Morris Wright, business agent of Local 890 in Bayard, N.M. He was questioned at length about the film, **Salt of the Earth,** which was sponsored by his local.

A number of Mexican-Americans were called for questioning; at one point the spectators crowding the hearing room gasped audibly when Rep. Walter made an offensive slur against the Mexican-American population of the Southwest. Most of the Mexican-Americans were named by Bellarmino Duran, himself a Mexican-American and an FBI undercover agent. While the hearings were on, an investigation was begun of charges that he accepted state welfare funds while receiving an income from the FBI.

AN OPEN LETTER: Others subpenaed included several persons named as Communists while employed by the government during the war years. Three of these denied the charges under oath.

Before the hearings began, 126 of the state's leading citizens addressed an open letter to Rep. Walter urging that the proceedings be conducted "according to the code of investigative procedure adopted by the American Bar Assn: in 1954." Signers included State legislators, ministers, members of the medical profession, lawyers, educators at both Colorado U. and Denver U., business and professional leaders and others. Rep. Walter denounced the request as a "smear against the committee" and committee counsel Richard Arens referred to the signers as "do-gooders, dupes and dopes."

Although the hearings were aimed mainly at a labor union already under attack, the **Colorado Labor Advocate,** owned by more than 50 labor organizations in the State, wasn't impressed by the performance. It attacked "the noxious atmosphere generated by these witch-hunts" and said:

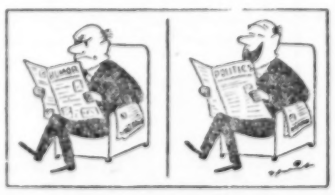
"No one who was quizzed was accused of any crime, yet almost without exception they were pilloried, heckled, vilified, harassed. Innocent or guilty of whatever indiscretions or mistakes they were accused of, their names were smeared and blackened and spread upon the public record as if they were being tried for a crime."

LOS ANGELES RESULTS: The earlier hearings in Los Angeles heard a total of 48 witnesses, eight of them "friendly" to the committee. Main target there was the L.A. local of the musicians union, but the range of those subpenaed included officers of a local of the Int'l. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, social workers and civil rights attorneys.

EDWARD FITZGERALD
His case is next

As a result of the committee's expedition, three members of the L.A. Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra were barred from making an international goodwill tour with the orchestra; three top-flight members of the Universal-International film studio orchestra were fired, and two county social workers lost their jobs.

Washington hearings by the committee into alleged passport violations are scheduled to resume on June 12. Those under supena include Paul Robeson who is now engaged in a court fight for the right to travel, Dr. Otto Nathan, executor of the estate of Albert Einstein, artist Rockwell Kent and businessman Henry Willcox. Almost all those already called have been charged with having attended various international peace conferences in recent years.



The Star, Hamburg

Ullmann is cleared

(Continued from Page 1)

been evasive and that the contempt sentence should remain over his head until he had given satisfactory answers."

Fitzgerald was sentenced to six months for contempt under the immunity law last August. He is appealing his case on some grounds not raised in the Ullmann case and the law may go all the way to the Supreme Court for review again. On June 5 the U.S. Court of Appeals heard arguments in the case.

"HOAX ON CONGRESS": On that day Fitzgerald said:

"The freeing of Ullmann is a crushing blow at the Brownell-Hoover-Bentley spy hoax. It is clear that Ullmann denied every one of Bentley's espionage allegations.

"The Justice Dept. has always known that Bentley's story was false but used it to convince Congress that a new law which strikes the Fifth Amendment from the Bill of Rights was needed to protect the national security. This was a boax on Congress.

"The Justice Dept. knew that Ullmann had once denied and would again deny the Bentley charges. Yet they pretended to the Supreme Court that in compelling his testimony, they were seeking confirmation of these charges. This was a hoax on the Supreme Court.

"In his whole handling of this law Brownell has shown that he is interested not in national security but in politics. In my case and Ullmann's he hoped that the discredited Bentley spy story could be used once more as campaign material.

"The public should recognize that a witness who denies these fantastic tales is faced with a perjury trial in which the government will employ paid informers.

"I repeat, I have never been guilty of espionage and have nothing to hide, but I will continue to refuse to testify under this law, which scuttles the Bill of Rights and is a hoax on the American people."

ANOTHER KILLED, THIRD WOUNDED

Dombrowski, editor of Detroit Polish paper, murdered by gunman in N. Y. social club

THE FRENCH LINER Liberte docked in New York Thursday morning, May 31, bringing home 46 Americans of Polish origin or extraction who had gone to see present-day Poland for themselves. The excursion reportedly had been frowned on by U.S. officials and vehemently opposed by groups of Polish and Ukrainian displaced persons in New York. These had singled out for bitter, violent comment Thomas X. Dombrowski, editor of the Detroit Polish-language weekly **Glos Ludowy** (People's Voice), and chief organizer of the trip—though he himself had not gone.

On Thursday night the excursionists gathered in the Polonia Social Club, 219 Second Av., for a reception and final get-together before dispersing to their homes around the country. With them were Dombrowski, two employes of the Polish Embassy, and Polish-American leaders.

The reception had started at 6 p.m. in the second-floor clubrooms. By 9:25 the party was over and many of the guests had left. One guest later told the GUARDIAN that about 30 remained, drinking coffee and talking.

There are two rooms in the clubhouse. The entrance leads into a dining room. Beyond that is the meeting room. As the party was breaking up, a young man (an eyewitness guessed his weight at 140 lbs., his height at 5½ feet) leaped into the dining room. A white handkerchief covered his face below his eyes. He pointed a pistol, called out that this was a stick-up and ordered the guests to line up against the wall.

Many, including the GUARDIAN's informant, were incredulous and failed to respond. While they hesitated, a second gunman, also young and masked, bounded past the first one and ran into the meeting room, flourishing two guns. Some said Dombrowski reached out to rip the handkerchief from the second gunman's face, but others said the action was so swift they had no time to notice any move by Dombrowski. The second gunman fired one shot which killed Dombrowski, then ran out. When the gunman in the dining room heard the shot, he fired seemingly at random.

POLITICAL OR NOT? Frank Grodzki, 45, chairman of the Polish Cultural Committee, a veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, was shot twice in the head and died within two hours at Roosevelt Hospital. Walter Nogas, 60, was shot in the abdomen and rushed to Bellevue Hospital where he was reported in critical condition.

High police officials rushed to the scene and worked with club officials throughout the night. Some guests went to headquarters in an attempt to identify the killers from police file photographs.

At 4:30 a.m. police ruled out political motives and called the shooting an attempted hold-up. Club officials and guests agreed that the police were vigorously pressing the investigation, but some hesitated to discount all possibility of a political motive.

A TRIBUTE IS PAID: Dombrowski, 42, had married two weeks earlier. His bride was not with him when he died. They were to have returned to Detroit the morning after the reception. Dombrowski's body traveled back to Detroit accompanied by Stanley Nowak, former state senator from Detroit, who was at the club when the shooting took place. Grodzki's body was cremated in Queens.

Casimir T. Nowacki, a Polonia Club official, who at the last minute was prevented from joining the Polish excursion when his passport was picked up, said:

"These two were not only young and had full understanding of the vital needs and aspirations of the people, but also were very actively contributing and working in the democratic interests of the American people. They were murdered in line of duty. We shall be firm and positive in our resolution to carry forward their good works."

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In Memory of

Lt. Rudolph Skrek

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BOOKS ABOUT PEOPLE OF COLOR

Montgomery, Mississippi and Haiti too

By Elmer Bendiner

ON MARCH 1, 1956, the Negro people of Montgomery, Ala., were well on their long march to rout jimcrow from their bus lines, perhaps from their city. All through the South men and women were fighting and some were dying to claim the freedom granted them on paper 100 years before. To poet Eve Merriam the unfolding history called for poetry, but not a reflective word-picture for later generations to value, not a lyrical outpouring of her own feelings. The times called for pamphlets as well as poetry and Eve Merriam sat down and wrote in white heat "a pamphlet in poetry." It took her just 16 days.

The picture one gets of the poet at work on **Montgomery, Alabama, Money, Mississippi and Other Places,** is of a woman pounding a typewriter, updating her copy with each edition of the daily papers. If ever a poet wrote "hot copy" this is it. In this little volume is the up-to-the-minute story of the walking Alabamans; the split in the White Councils between those who are just anti-Negro and those who are broad enough to hate Jews as well; the motor pool in Montgomery; Sen. Eastland's hearings; the go-slow gradualist; the fight of Autherine Lucy; the murder of Emmett Till. Eve Merriam contrives handsome settings for sharp quotations lifted out of the news columns, like the item about the Montgomery woman who said:

"Now my feet walk, but my spirit rides," or the Rev. Martin Luther King's injunction: "Carry no weapon but love."

WALK WITH THE LORD: Heroines like Mrs. Rosa Parks are given a more permanent, more fitting setting than newsprint and prose. Slogans hot off the picket line become refrains:

"Jim Crow on the buses. Don't get aboard.

Walk, walk, walk with the Lord."

The story is covered not in one piece but in two dozen poems. Some are rhymed like doggerel; some set a freer and more subtle pattern. Some are ragged and some are polished. But there is in all a feeling of excitement. Throughout, there is a precision of aim that leaves no doubt of the poet's purpose: to sing the spirit of her time. She finds that spirit good for the most part. She likes the fight and catches the spirit of it the way a drummer boy used to drum the battle onward.

Eve Merriam beats that drum smartly in ways that can set more people to marching and singing, perhaps more poets to beating out the time.

•

THERE IS A STYLE of Haitian painting called "primitive." Its colors are bright, its shadows dark, its symbols plain. The figures are detailed and their action somewhat mannered, but the canvas has the rhythm of a folk dance beating out an ageless theme.

That is the quality of Jacques Roumain's **Masters of The Dew,** originally published by Reynal and Hitchcock in 1947 and currently re-issued by the Liberty Book Club. Langston Hughes and Mercer Cook have fittingly translated the original French into an English that is as simple and poetic as a folk-step.

In 1944 Roumain died at the age of 38 after a life of writing and rebellion. (He completed 10 works of fiction, poetry and ethnological studies. He went to prison five times for activities against the Haitian dictatorships.) He is a legend among Haiti's rebellious young intellectuals. In **Masters of The Dew,** though, there is little of the intellectual.

THE SEARCH: The book weaves two simple threads: the search for water to save a drought-stricken village and the search for peace to end a blood-feud that keeps the peasants divided.

Its moral, too, is simple: The peasants must unite to survive.

But in the telling this theme takes on epic proportions. Manuel returns to his native village after years of back-breaking labor in the Cuban cane fields. He brings back with him the lessons of unity won in bitter strikes.

How Manuel teaches those lessons by living them is Roumain's story. It is a Romeo-and-Juliet tale of ill-starred love crossing bloody feud lines; a story of how men and women grope toward cooperation that is needed to bring the life-giving water to the village; finally the story of Manuel's martyrdom.

A POET'S LOVE SONG: It is not a solemn story though a very moral one. There is gayety and humor and a folksy turn of phrase that is exhilarating. It is not a novel of profound characterization. The hero is glorious, the heroine lovely, kind and virtuous, the villains double-dyed. But in this elemental theme and setting that seems appropriate. The morality play and the folk legend are not the vehicles for subtle individual portrayals.

Nevertheless Haiti and the Haitians are portrayed in bold strokes and exciting colors. The voodoo rite with its sacrifice of the cock, the wakes, the drinking, the work songs, the courtesy of Haitian pastoral life are all woven into a bright tapestry.

The language is lyrical as befits a poet's love song to his people and to all people.

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, MONEY, MISSISSIPPI AND OTHER PLACES by Eve Merriam, Cameron Associates, $2; and MASTERS OF THE DEW by Jaques Roumain, translated by Langston Hughes and Mercer Cook, Liberty Book Club, 180 pp., $3.50. A double selection of the Liberty Book Club, both books together for members $2.25; singly for members, MASTERS OF THE DEW, $1.74; Eve Merriam's book, $1.

Calypso concert for Robeson

AS A TRIBUTE to Paul Robeson and stressing "The Artist's Right to Travel," a Calypso concert will be held in New York's Town Hall Wednesday eve., June 13. Sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which has been supporting Robeson's passport fight, the concert will feature, among others, the Duke of Iron and the Trinidad Steel Band. Proceeds will go towards defraying the legal costs of Robeson's passport test case pending in the District Court of Appeals in Washington.

A reception at the Hotel Diplomat will follow the concert, at which prominent musical and theater artists will be present. Admission to the reception will be $1.25, with refreshments.

Concert tickets are priced at $3.50, $2.50 and $1.65. Box seats at $10 each, available at the ECLC, 421 Seventh Ave., (OXford 5-2863), and at Town Hall box office, 113 W. 43d St.

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Chicago

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Detroit

"A new stage in Russian Revolution; Its Significance for Amer. Politics." Talk by **MYRA WEISS,** Socialist Workers Party vice-pres. candidate, 3737 Woodward, Fri., June 15, 8 p.m. Ausp: Friday Night Socialist Forum.

Los Angeles

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New York

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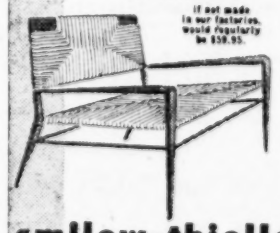

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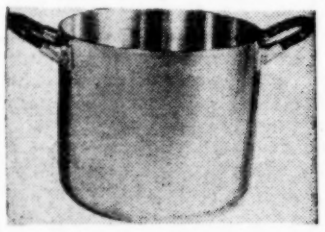

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the SPECTATOR

'The Echoing Hills'

By Gene Richards

LOS ANGELES

A BRILLIANT climax came to the theatrical side of the Arts Festival of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles last month with the premiere performance of Lester Cole's new play, **The Echoing Hills**, directed by Robert Davis and performed by a first rate cast of professionals.

An ovation from a close-to-capacity auditorium greeted this new dramatic work. It was as much for the occasion as for the play itself or for the fine acting and excellent production. Despite difficulties arising from limited staging facilities and inadequate acoustics, the Negro liberation theme of the play took hold of the audience and held it with increasing strength until the final curtain.

This warm demonstration was really a celebration of the appearance of a theatrical work vividly dealing with one of our most pressing national problems, created by a writer, actors and production workers whose talents have broken through the shameful blacklist.

ABOLITIONIST THEME: Playwright Cole has written no glib play, nor a simple one. Its professed theme is the struggle of the Abolitionists in pre-Civil War Virginia in the face of terror against all who spoke out against slavery, but the actual basic motivation, dramatically, is the underground railroad which carried slaves to freedom.

The Abolitionist theme is treated from an upper class point of view instead of regarding it as a movement of slaves and white workers joining with others enlightened enough to help them.

Chief characters in **The Echoing Hills** are a doctor who hides his work of "running the underground railroad in Virginia" under cover of pretended collaboration with the slave holders, and three brothers who own a slave plantation.

The focus is on the conflicts among the brothers. The eldest uses the plantation to breed slaves for the auction block. The youngest is an idealist tortured by the knowledge that his half-sister by a slave mother was sold into oblivion. The middle brother, an opportunist liberal, has escaped to Boston and the less obvious repressions his conscience finds in a "wage-slave" economy.

CHALLENGING PARALLELS: Such materials are well suited to the drama of ideas and Cole has made probing and skilful use of them. But his real drama is still the underground movement, a fact amply demonstrated by the electric shock which swept over the audience when a brutal, whisky-drinking slave owner, pursuing his runaway property with gun, hounds and mob, appears on the stage.

Only two Negro characters appear in the play, slaves inherited by the doctor who frees them and gives them equal status in his family.

Some justification for the author's preoccupation with upper class characters lies in the fact that this creates challenging parallels with the dilemmas faced—particularly by northerners whose economic interests are involved—in what is happening, for example, in Birmingham today. But of the solidarity of the Negroes now moving towards solving their problems in the South, I found little parallel implication in the background of the play.

Cast and production staff merit praise for their work. The cast included Lee Ellis, Al Hammer, Robert Sherwood, John Brown, director Davis, Ruth Turner, Byron Morrow, Howland Chamberlain and Morris Goodson. Maurice Murphy produced, with Doris Karnes responsible for a handsome set, Jennifer Nichols costumes and Danny Lieberman lights. There were three performances.

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